1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

843 As pregnancy progresses, the rules multiply: both parents are prohibited from eating the flesh of parrots, wild doves, sariemas, and armadilloes; and they must not kill a snake if they encounter one. The father must not singe a young paca at the fire lest there be a miscarriage, and he must not have sexual relations with either his wife or other women.

847 [137] Deliberate abortion seems very rare; during the whole of my stay no case came to my notice. However, I was told that occasionally women deserted by their husbands used abortives—the decoction of the scraped bark of the pau candeia tree (*Cassia* sp.) or the malodorous shoot of an undetermined species. On the other hand, unintentional abortion often results, as I was able to note in several cases exclusively from the pregnant woman's insistence on staggering home like others of her sex under an overloaded basket of cultivated fruits, a pleasure no Indian woman lightly renounces. Although the carrying basket is suspended from a forehead band (pl. 5, *b*), the load also rests heavily on the small of the back, with the consequences noted.

DELIVERY

844 As the period of delivery approaches, the husband partitions off the platform bed with mats, for normally parturition takes place in the dwelling. Further, he plaits a number of anajá-grass mats for bedding. No male must witness the delivery. Though the husband is allowed to remain in the partitioned space—as a rule he does not avail himself of this privilege—he must not look at his wife, for that would render the birth more difficult. An elderly matrilineal kinswoman assists, there being no special midwives.

845 In difficult cases the crushed seeds of cantaloupes (post-Columbian!) are rubbed into the small of the mother's back. Another means of relief is for the husband to walk outside round the house—a usage shared with the Apinayé and the Kaingang. A young husband is often deeply affected by the event. As a primipara, Pụtyapére had an exceedingly lengthy and painful delivery. Her husband, after having walked outside around the house several times, sat fidgeting on a racing log before the door. Beside him sat two of his as yet unmarried kwụ'nõ in sheepish embarrassment. As I passed by, the expectant father hailed me and looked at me in so supplicating a fashion that I tried to soothe him as best I could.

844 [782] The woman in attendance ligatures the navel string with a cotton cord and cuts it with an iron knife, whose aboriginal equivalent the Indians were unable to tell me about. On the cut they smear first urucú, then the juice of the araçá bark. The afterbirth, mekéti, is buried in a corner of the house. One must not throw away the anajá mats on which the delivery has taken place and which are changed as soon as soiled. The delivered woman's mother rolls them up and squeezes them into the fork of a tree in the steppe beyond the house, at the same time praying to the sun for protection of the infant from harm: "kedti, napáre ipụm, hompú apũi kačun nãre!" The mats are left to be destroyed by the next steppe fire.

The pelvic bones are pressed together after birth by having the woman lie on her side on the platform bed, her husband seating himself on her hip.

THE NEWBORN INFANT

847 Having never seen a single case of manifest bodily defect among about three hundred Rąmkõ'kamekra, I at first suspected them of killing crippled infants at birth, but any such practice was expressly denied.

846 The woman who assists at birth cleanses the infant's mouth with her finger, washes it, and paints it with urucú; the mother is taken behind the house and

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washed, but not painted. Now her husband joins her in the partitioned space, which neither parent leaves except for necessity until the navel string drops off. In less rigorous form the seclusion lasts for over a month after that—the Indians said, for two months altogether. However, in one case I determined the period by actual count as only forty-two days. Until the dropping of the navel cord the mother wears a burity cord reddened with urucú around her hips—possibly a reminiscence of the band worn by lying-in Apinayé women, who thereby try to avert the enervation of the abdominal wall.

The navel string that has dropped off is wrapped with cotton thread and stored by the mother in the gourd (p. 52; also pl. 14, *m*) containing urucú seeds for body paint. At about the age of four the child receives this package from his mother and deposits his navel cord in the hole of some sucupira tree on the steppe: thereby he will grow as tough as the sucupira itself.

Like all other persons in seclusion, the parents must not paint or decorate themselves, neither cut their hair nor scratch themselves with their fingers, substituting for the last purpose special little sticks. During the entire period they are limited to vegetable fare, maize—today rice also—being considered most fitting, as well as manioc flat cakes for the mother. Other forms of manioc are forbidden, as are gourds. In eating sweet potatoes the couple must not throw away the skins, but collect them in a basket and carry them behind the house. The father must not execute any hard work or otherwise exert himself in any fashion.

If a woman, whether single or ceremonially wedded, has had extramarital sex relations with one or more men during pregnancy, she ruthlessly names them all immediately after her delivery, when her husband retires with her behind the mat enclosure. This confession is in the child's interest, for these men must all go into retreat; no Indian, whether a bachelor or married man, would ever dare deny his copaternity, as it were, and shirk seclusion, which customarily takes place in his mother's home. When a wanton named Muruwá gave birth to her first child, four men were obliged to go into retirement, though judging from the comments passed this seemed "a bit thick" even to the natives. Otherwise no one is ashamed of copaternity, and several times when the parents of a person were under discussion some Indian would thrust himself forward unbidden, declaring, "I too, am his father!" As explained (p. 78), the relationships resulting from copaternity are assessed precisely like those due to legitimate paternity in our sense.

END OF SECLUSION

In the case of a girl baby, whose name would be derived from a patrilineal kinswoman, a patrilineal relative goes deer hunting; for a boy baby, who gets his name in the matrilineal line, a matrilineal kinsman must assume this duty.

When Patkwę'i gave birth for the first time, she had mentioned a man besides her husband as having to go into seclusion. When this period was over, her maternal uncle asked her husband to secure the game required. He killed a steppe deer, which was prepared in Patkwę'i's maternal home so as to furnish three meat pies. In the afternoon the rópkama, his age class, assembled at their plaza station while Patkwę'i was being washed behind her home, had her hair cut, and was decorated with urucú. Thus she went directly across the plaza to the house of her lover and with the words "Apukwur ne!" invited him to fetch his share. He straightway betook himself to her matrilineal dwelling, where he received a slice of meat pie, which he took to his mother. In the meantime Patkwę'i went from door to door round the boulevard—a formal presentation undertaken after any serious illness. There-

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

851 upon the age class trotted toward Patkwę'i's house, humming "like humming
846 birds," and there a whole meat pie was distributed among them. Meanwhile Patkwę'i's husband had also abandoned the partitioned space of seclusion, put on his earplugs once more, and had himself painted with urucú. When the rópkama still humming as before, ran back, one of the oldest Indians came to meet them dancing, howling like a steppe fox, and bashfully slinking from one side to another. As a steppe fox always visits an abandoned camp site in search of food remnants, so the old man was looking for the residue at Patkwę'i's house.

A ceremony of such complexity, however, takes place only when the first child is born. On the same day another woman, who had already given birth to a number of children, was discharged from her retreat. All she did was to send a meat pie via her brother to the council assembled in the plaza.

851 When Kapērtuk's wife had been delivered of a little girl, his sister, Mīkwę'i,
[551] took her in her arms and carried her to the aunt's matrilineal home, thereby indicating that she would transfer her names to the infant. Then Kapērtuk's aunt
846 Mīkwę'i's maternal uncle went to hunt a deer, which he turned over to his niece. The meat she prepared was partaken of by all the inmates of the matrilineal home of Kapērtuk's wife, except herself and her husband. Unprepared slices of this game must not be distributed in other dwellings lest the hunter lose his luck, growing lazy and sleepy (čukaká). For the same reason he must not throw his booty on the floor when he gets home, but must deposit it with caution.

[825] After his seclusion an infant's father goes on a hunting trip in order to kill an anteater of the smaller species (*Myrmecophaga tetradactyla*), which is said to "rear its children like a human being" by carrying them around on its back.

852 As soon as the child has its change of hair, the furrow is cut round its head.
604 Not until the close of seclusion does the mother indulge in domestic chores, and even then only in part because during the first months she hardly lets go of her infant. In leaving the house she turns it over to her own mother or another female housemate. A little girl is likely to spend considerable time at a paternal aunt's—even if she should not be the one from whom she acquires her names. This bond between little girls and their paternal aunts often is of great intimacy, being even more striking than the corresponding tie between a boy and his maternal uncle, which manifests itself later and especially in ceremonial. This uncle certainly pays no attention to a nursling's care.

853 So long as the mother maintains continence, the child is supposed to grow apace.
856 For this reason many women abstain from marital congress for months, allowing the hair around their temples to grow, but immediately clipping it after the first postnatal cohabitation. This obligatory continence is by no means to every husband's taste, and a fantastic tale of suicide—relegated, it is true, to the days of long ago—is told. On the plea that their child was still too small a woman denied
[762] her husband access for many months. He had himself, as well as the nephew to whom he had transferred his names, decorated and took the boy into the steppe. There he pretended to hunt falcons, kindled a fire around himself and the boy, causing both to perish.

INFANCY

853 The nursing period lasts about two years. The mother gives suck as often as the child desires it, kinswomen being glad to help so far as they are able. The mother teaches her child to eat cooked food by chewing it and then placing it in the infant's mouth.

854 As soon as the child is able to sit, the mother carries it straddling her left hip

/49 cont./

126 flour, that all the power of persuasion and even sharp words on the
593 part of her spouse were necessary in order to persuade her to remain and to continue to work within view of my camera.

● 846 During a brief visit to all the huts in the village I was able
[123] to ascertain above all the interesting fact of the persistence of the couvade among the Canella.

[123] /50/ According to the explanation of the chief, who accompanied me everywhere, the "man in childbed," who incidentally felt hurt by my indiscreet inquisitiveness and angrily turned his back on me, had been forced, since the delivery of his wife on the previous day, to lie down in her place and had to submit to strict regulations until the umbilical cord of the child had fallen off. He could not do any work, neither hunt nor fish. The slightest dietary mistake would result in a disturbance of the health or in the death of his child.

The mother of a newborn child has no restrictions imposed upon her, and, usually without suffering from any noticeably unpleasant effects after the act of giving birth, she goes about her normal activities as before. "/Fig. 1 appears here./

123 The impatience of the chief permitted me to linger scarcely more than a few minutes in each hut.

123 All the ethnographic objects selected by me found their
126 way immediately into the habitation of the chief, who insisted
622 upon returning there as quickly as possible for a rapid conclusion
437 to the business of the exchange.

In the chief's hut there was then a rather stormy scene.

To be sure, the chief agreed to my wish to transport the collection to Casimba, but he demanded payment in advance, to which I did not agree.

Angered, some youths picked out their property from the collection spread out on the floor. Others soon followed their example and vanished with their possessions.

[152] The chief himself behaved no less furiously.

To show me his deepest contempt, he tore off his state apparel and hurled it, crumpled, into a dark corner, but calmed down again immediately when the expected effect on me did not